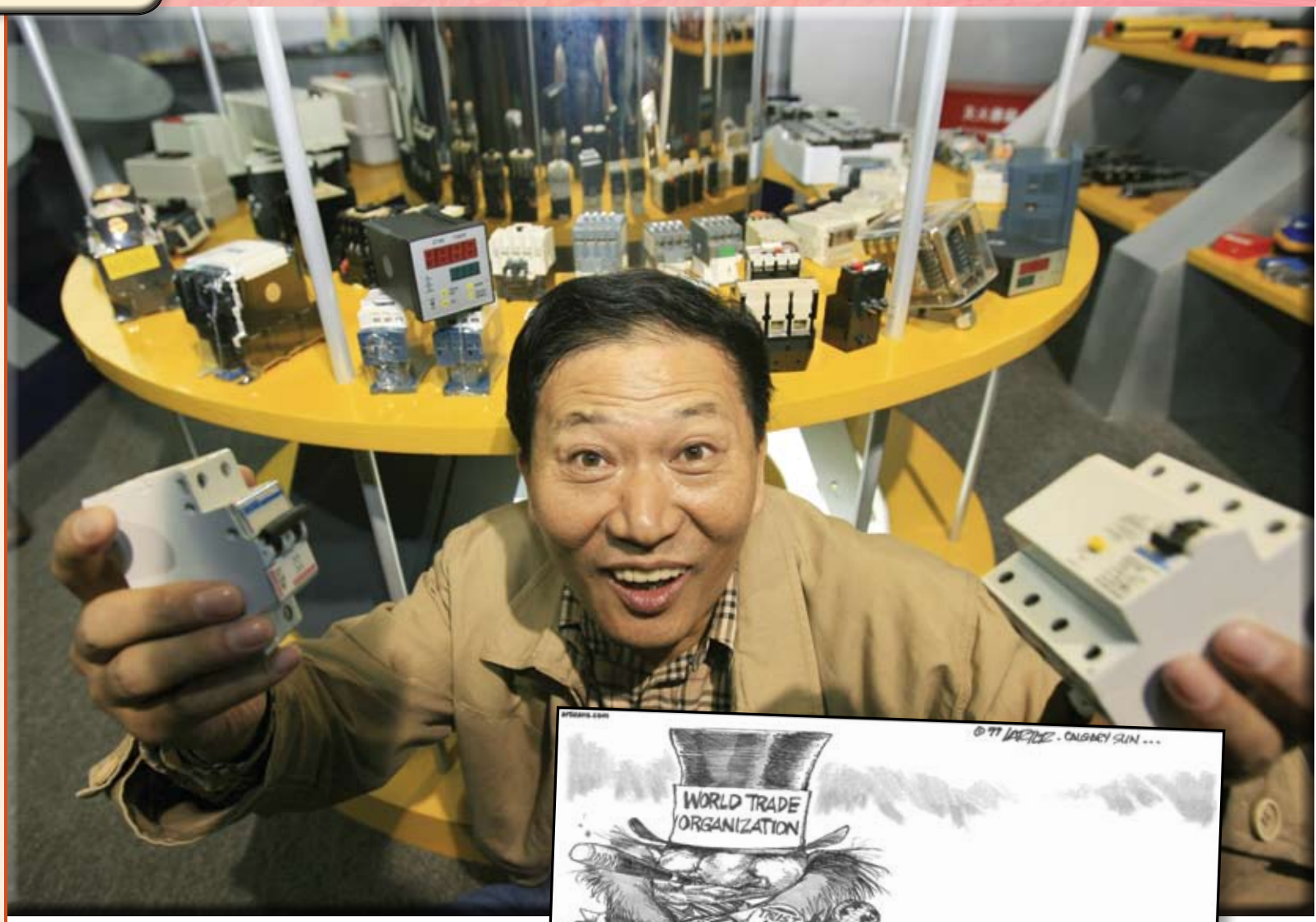
TO WHAT EXTENT SHOULD WE EMBRACE NATIONALISM?

CHAPTER 11

Internationalism and Nationalism



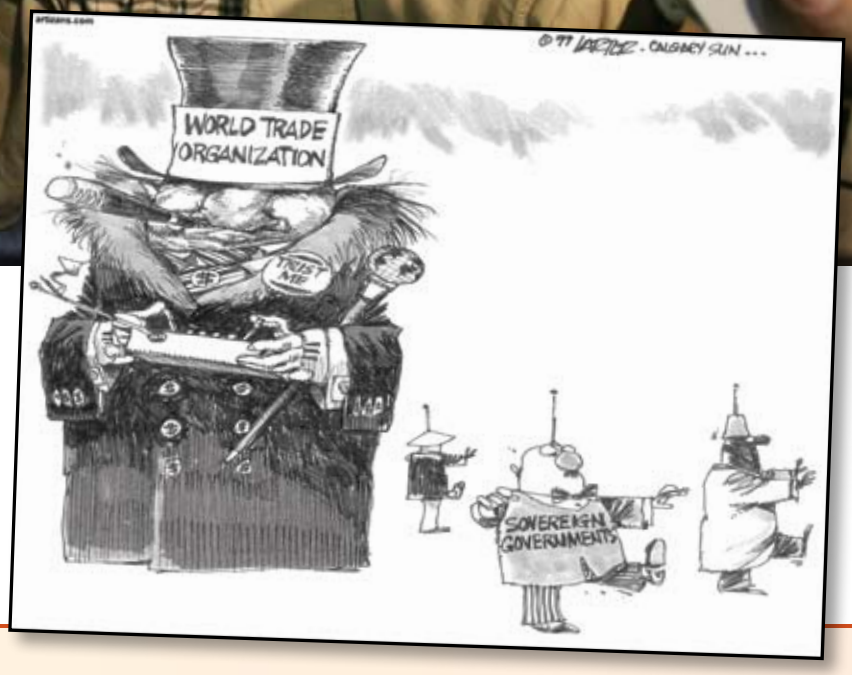


Figure 11-1 Chen Zhixian, in the main photograph, is the chair and chief executive officer of Sassin International, a Shanghai electronics company. Zhixian shows off some of the electrical products his company makes and exports. This photograph was taken in 2006, five years after China joined the World Trade Organization. The cartoon at right expresses Alberta artist John Larter's opinion on the price countries may pay for joining the WTO.

CHAPTER ISSUE

Does promoting internationalism affect nationalism?

KEY TERMS

responsibility to protect

common human heritage

trickle-down effect

China's economy has boomed since China joined the World Trade Organization in 2001. Exporting businesses are doing well, and jobs in manufacturing and high-tech have increased. Chinese consumers can buy a wider variety of foreign goods because foreign companies have better access to the Chinese market.

The WTO is an international organization. Member countries depend on it to make and enforce trade rules.

But joining the WTO involves trade-offs. The Chinese government, for example, agreed to allow foreign companies to make and sell automobiles in China. It also agreed not to control the price of goods sold in China — and to ensure that Chinese companies do not sell their goods at one price in China and at a higher price elsewhere.

Examine the images on the previous page, then respond to the following questions:

- How would you describe Chen Zhixian's frame of mind? Do you think he supported China's joining the WTO? Why or why not?
- What message is cartoonist John Larter sending about his view of the relationship between the WTO and sovereign governments?
- What might be some benefits and drawbacks of joining the WTO?

Looking Ahead

In this chapter, you will explore the extent to which internationalism affects nationalism. You will do this by developing responses to the following questions:

- How have changing world conditions promoted internationalism?
- How has the United Nations affected nationalism?
- How have various international organizations affected nationalism?

My Journal on Nationalism

Look again at the images on the previous page. Skim and scan *Understanding Nationalism* to find three images that express your current ideas about nationalism and internationalism. Compare these with images chosen by your classmates. Date your ideas and keep them in your journal, notebook, learning log, portfolio, or computer file so that you can return to them.

How have changing world conditions promoted internationalism?

A century ago, Canada was a rural country. Computers had not yet been invented, and the world wars — and the destruction they created — had not yet occurred. Since then, Canada and most other nation-states have gone through the growing pains of becoming part of a world community. Globalization has changed the way Canadians communicate, travel, engage in politics, do business, socialize, and experience other cultures.

As the world becomes more globalized, the challenges that affect one country can spread far and wide. In November 2002, for example, a farmer in China died of a disease, but no one knew what it was. Three months later, an American travelling to Singapore from China died of the same illness. Then several people who treated him got sick.

Because of air travel, the disease was spreading undetected around the world. By July 2003, this highly contagious disease had a name: severe acute respiratory syndrome, or SARS. It had infected people in 26 countries, including Canada.

Terrorism and climate change are two other challenges that the international community faces. Global challenges like these require global efforts to resolve. Multilateral, internationalist solutions are often the only way to solve large-scale challenges.

In a world of near instant communications, the nation-state is irrelevant. One of the outward symbols of its existence is the national border, staffed by uniformed officials checking papers and manning barricades. But what use are such border controls in the world of the Internet?

— Kenichi Ohmae, business strategist, in The Globalist*, 2005*

In "Voices," Kenichi Ohmae says that nation-states are irrelevant in a world with instant communications. Does that mean that national identity is also irrelevant?

Global Communication

In the 1960s, the Internet did not yet exist. But Canadian media philosopher Marshall McLuhan already knew that an information revolution was happening. Technological developments were making it much cheaper to store, use, and transmit information in all its forms. McLuhan predicted that the new electronic information systems would have a huge impact on human society, and especially on the nation-state.

In his famous 1967 book, *The Medium Is the Massage*, McLuhan wrote: "Electric circuitry has overthrown the regime of 'time' and 'space' and pours upon us constantly and continuously the concerns of all other men. It has [moved] dialogue [to] a global scale. Its message is Total Change . . . The old civic, state, and national groupings have become unworkable."

Figure 11-2 An Indian fisher uses a cellphone to call the market to see which merchant will give him the best price for his catch. Cellphones are just one of the devices that are changing the way the world does business. Does this cellphone support — or threaten — this man's traditional way of life?

The Global Village

The invention of the Internet, satellite communications, cellphones, and all the other forms of communication people use today seem to show that McLuhan was right about the effects of the information revolution. People can now communicate with one another in groups that are not connected to any nation-state or organization — they have formed whole new communities. As McLuhan predicted, technology has removed all the political, social, and economic barriers between people around the world.

Removing these barriers to human communication means that people can now relate to each other on a global scale. They now live in what McLuhan called a "global village." How do you think being able to communicate with people all over the globe might promote internationalism?

Web Connection

To see the extent of Internet use around the world, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.UnderstandingNationalism.ca

VOICES

We've expanded to the point where all the world will be connected — we're going to have to get on with each other.

— Tim Berners-Lee, developer of the World Wide Web, 2007

Figure 11-3 Some parents and educators believe that face-to-face contact helps teenagers develop their identity. They worry that communicating electronically prevents young people from socializing in person with friends and family. Do you think this concern is valid?

Because the Internet makes it easier to find like-minded individuals, it can [create] and strengthen fringe communities that have a common ideology but are [scattered] geographically.

— *Marshall van Alstyne and Erik Brynjolfsson in* Electronic Communities: Global Village or Cyberbalkans?

FYI

Europe's Balkan Peninsula takes its name from *balkans*, a Turkish word for mountains. After World War I, these states were united into the country of Yugoslavia. But the mountainous landscape made communication hard and kept peoples isolated. As a result, they were often hostile toward one another — and the word "balkanize" entered the English language.

Has the Internet truly created a global village or does the Internet remain a collection of small, isolated online communities?

Voluntary Balkanization

Not everyone believes that joining an online global community promotes an internationalist frame of mind. Some say that it encourages people to withdraw from ordinary society and connect only with like-minded people.

Marshall van Alstyne and Erik Brynjolfsson are two American experts who have studied the social effects of the Internet. Their research has shown that Internet users try to connect with people who share the same values and opinions as their own. As a result, these same people may become less willing to trust those with values that are different from their own. This can mean that they are building new barriers.

In their book, *Electronic Communities: Global Village or Cyberbalkans?*, van Alstyne and Brynjolfsson wrote: "Particle physicists, oenophiles [wine enthusiasts], Star Trek fans, and members of militia groups have used the Internet to find each other, swap information and stoke each others' passions . . . Once like-minded individuals locate each other, their subsequent interactions can further polarize their views or even ignite calls-to-action."

Van Alstyne and Brynjolfsson call this process voluntary balkanization. "Balkanization" refers to the separation of people into isolated, hostile groups. This is what happened in the former Yugoslavia, a country on the Balkan Peninsula.

Van Alstyne and Brynjolfsson are concerned that this process, will make it difficult for Internet users to understand the views of others because they have communicated only with people who think the same way they do. Van Alstyne and Brynjolfsson fear that people may lose their sense of shared experiences. Losing the bonds created by these experiences may harm the structure of democratic societies.

Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

1. Write down two examples of recent changes in the world and how they are affecting internationalism. Include
   - one change that created a problem (e.g., climate change) requiring an internationalist solution
   - one change (e.g., creation of the UN) that made an internationalist solution possible
2. Share your examples with a small group. Do they involve the development of a world network? If so, why? If not, why not?
3. Write a statement that sets out one prediction you would make about the future of internationalism.

How has the United Nations affected nationalism?

The United Nations is not universally applauded for its internationalist efforts. The failure to stop the violence in Yugoslavia and Rwanda, as well as changing world conditions, has led some people to question the effectiveness of the UN. They say that the UN's approach must be re-evaluated.

In 2003, Kofi Annan, who was secretary-general at the time, said that the UN must adapt to changes in the world.

> We have come to a fork in the road. This may be a moment no less decisive than 1945 itself, when the United Nations was founded.
>
> At that time, a group of far-sighted leaders, led and inspired by [United States] President Franklin D. Roosevelt, were determined to make the second half of the 20th century different from the first half. They saw that the human race had only one world to live in, and that unless it managed its affairs prudently, all human beings may perish.
>
> So they drew up rules to govern international behaviour, and founded a network of institutions, with the United Nations at its centre, in which the peoples of the world could work together for the common good.
>
> Now we must decide whether it is possible to continue on the basis agreed then, or whether radical changes are needed.

Changing the Direction of the United Nations

In 2004, a panel of diplomats and international leaders considered the future of the UN. They produced a report titled *A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility*. It recommended that the UN relax its tradition of staying out of internal conflicts — conflicts that occur within a country.

The report also said that the UN has a **responsibility to protect** people when their own countries cannot. This protection could take various forms, including humanitarian aid, diplomatic missions, and — as a last resort — military force.

This recommendation was controversial. It was challenged almost immediately. Some viewed it as a direct challenge to countries' sovereignty and national interest. Why might some nation-states see UN intervention in their internal affairs as interfering where it does not belong?

<<< CheckBack

You read about the conflicts in Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia in Chapters 7 and 10.

Figure 11-4 People have criticized the UN for everything from writing too many reports to being pompous and irrelevant. Canadian artist Sue Dewar created this cartoon in 2007. Do you think she would agree with these criticisms? Why or why not? How is the UN relevant to your life?

The United Nations does not have a standing army that can carry out its responsibility to protect. Should it have one? Would this threaten the sovereign rights of some countries?

Figure 11-5 The flag of the United Nations was still flying after two car-bomb blasts killed 31 people in Algiers, Algeria, in 2007. One of the bombs had destroyed United Nations offices. A terrorist group linked to al-Qaeda claimed responsibility and said that it attacked the UN because it was being controlled by the United States. Do incidents like this suggest that internationalism does not work?

If other countries have nuclear weapons, is it fair to stop Iran from having them too?

Iran Challenges the UN

The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty is meant to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. Iran signed this treaty in 1968. The UN monitors whether countries are observing the terms of the treaty through an agency called the International Atomic Energy Agency. In 2003, the IAEA found out that Iran had been enriching uranium for 18 years — in secret. Enriched uranium can be used to generate nuclear power, but it can also be used to build nuclear weapons.

The secrecy of the Iranian program raised the suspicions of Western members of the IAEA. They suspected that Iran was secretly developing nuclear weapons. The IAEA called on Iran to stop enriching uranium.

The Iranian government refused. Iranian officials said that their country was merely pursuing its national interest by developing the ability to generate nuclear power. They said that Iran should be free to control this process without outside interference.

The world community was not reassured. Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, Iran's president, has called for the destruction of Israel, denied the Holocaust, and threatened the United States. Many people believe that Ahmadinejad wants to develop nuclear weapons to carry out his threats.

Ahmadinejad sees the situation differently. In 2007, he said, "The Iranian nation will not succumb to bullying, invasion and the violation of its rights."

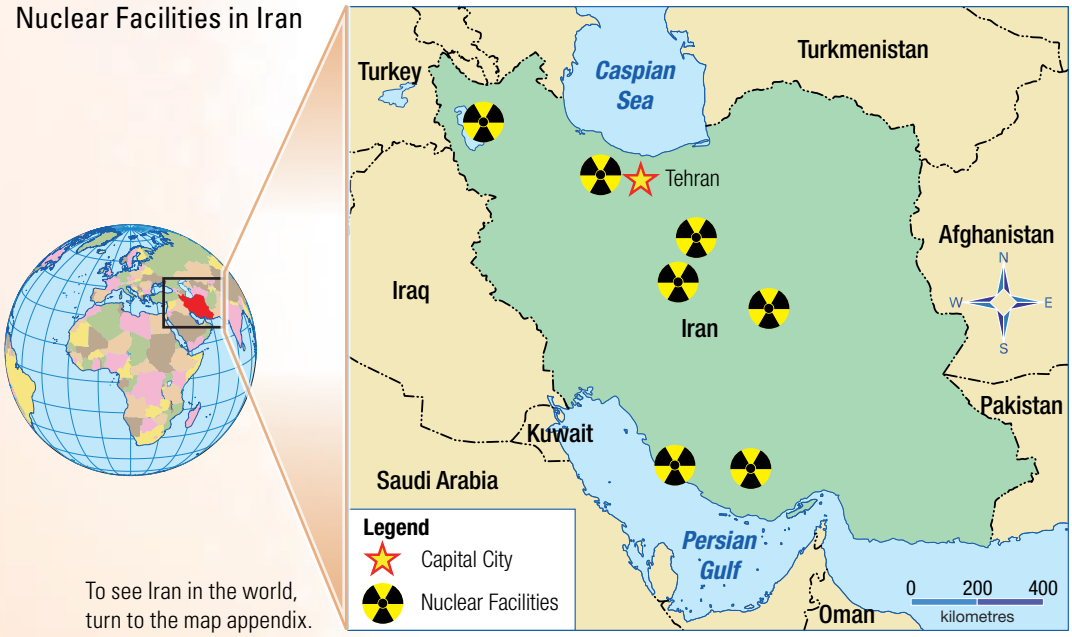
Read "FYI" on this page to see when the UN believes it should act on its responsibility to protect. Should the Security Council act to protect the world from the perceived nuclear threat posed by Iran? If so, what should it do? How might this action threaten Iran's sovereignty? If not, why not?

FYI

The UN allows for intervention in the internal affairs of a country only when

- there is a defined threat
- the purpose of intervention is clear
- the intervention is the Security Council's last resort
- only appropriate means are used
- the reasons for the intervention are examined and reported to the Security Council

Figure 11-6 Nuclear Facilities in Iran



To see Iran in the world, turn to the map appendix.

Protecting the Common Human Heritage

In 1945, the United Nations created the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. UNESCO promotes international co-operation in the fields of education, science, culture, and communication. It works to create respect for the value and dignity of all civilizations and culture. One way UNESCO does this is by promoting the idea of a **common human heritage**, such as world heritage sites, traditional skills and knowledge, and the arts.

One of the challenges facing UNESCO is to identify and protect the natural and cultural sites that are part of the common human heritage. To help do this, UNESCO has established a list of world heritage sites — locations that UNESCO believes represent the heritage of all people, no matter where they live. It chooses sites for either their natural or cultural value.

Consider Shobita Punja's words in "Voices." UNESCO wants people in all countries to think of the accomplishments of other nations as their own — as accomplishments of humanity, and not just one nation. How does this shift in thinking promote internationalism? How might it weaken national identity?

the world's shared legacy —
languages, historic, natural, arts, traditions

common human heritage

for all humanity

The concept of a common human heritage is a powerful one. It reaffirms that human beings, despite their differences, belong to a single species.

— Shobita Punja, writer and teacher who has worked on projects to preserve India's cultural heritage, 2000

Figure 11-7 Representing the Common Human Heritage

World Heritage Sites in Canada

- Dinosaur Provincial Park
- Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump
- Waterton Glacier International Peace Park
- Rideau Canal
- SGaang Gwaii
- Gros Morne National Park
- Historic District of Old Québec

And 8 more sites as of 2008

Common Human Heritage

World Heritage Sites around the World

- France — Chartres Cathedral
- Lebanon — City of Tyre
- Mali — City of Timbuktu
- Mexico — Town of Uxmal
- Congo — Okapi Wildlife Reserve
- Egypt — Ancient Thebes
- Sri Lanka — Golden Temple of Dambulla

And 871 more sites as of 2008

Making Difficult Choices

Deciding what should be classified as part of the common human heritage can present challenges. Whales, for example, are an important part of the natural heritage of this world. So, too, are elephants, walruses, and many other animals. Some people think that if these animals were respected as part of the common heritage of humans, more might be done to protect the environments that sustain them.

World Heritage Sites in Canada

In Canada, 15 world heritage sites had been named as of 2008. Most are natural sites, such as parks and glaciers. Four are cultural sites: the historic district of Old Québec City, the Old Town of Lunenburg in Nova Scotia, the Rideau Canal in Ottawa, and L'Anse aux Meadows in Newfoundland and Labrador. L'Anse aux Meadows contains the remains of a Viking colony that originated 1000 years ago. It is believed to be the first European settlement in North America.

➲ Examine the photographs of some of the world heritage sites in Canada. Identify another location in Canada that you think deserves to be named a world heritage site. Explain your choice.

Picturing World Heritage Sites in Canada

Figure 11-8 **Dinosaur Provincial Park**

The world's greatest concentration of dinosaur fossils from the late Cretaceous period was found along the Red Deer River valley in Alberta's Dinosaur Provincial Park. Fossils from this era are between 65 million and 145 million years old. This natural world heritage site also preserves the distinctive landscape of the badlands.

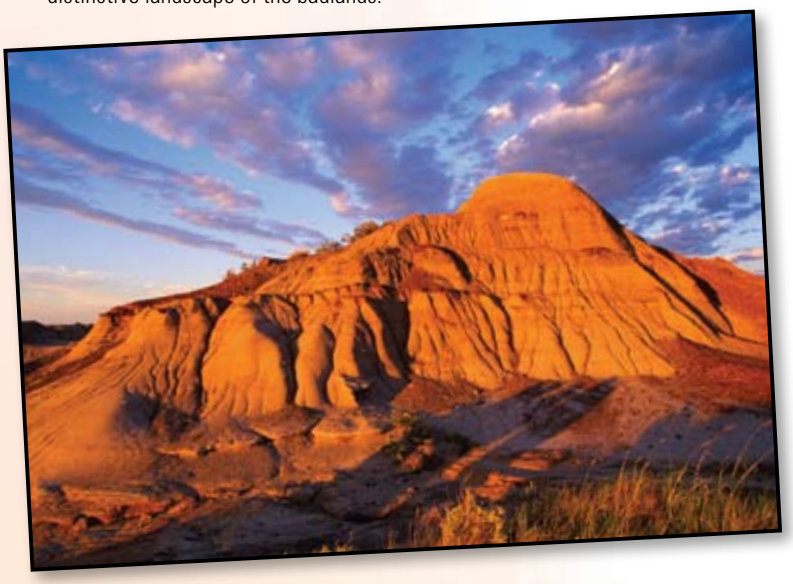


Figure 11-9 **Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump**

Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump is Alberta's only cultural world heritage site. The interpretive centre, shown here, was designed to blend into the sandstone cliffs that formed the buffalo jump. The jump is thought to be the biggest in North America. Large herds of buffalo were stampeded over the cliffs, and their carcasses were harvested at the bottom. The First Nations peoples of the Prairies used all parts of the animal to make things such as clothing and tools.

Figure 11-10 **Old Québec**

The historic district of Old Québec is one of Canada's four cultural world heritage sites. This photograph shows the Petit Champlain quarter lit up at Christmas in 2007. Two of the buildings in this area date to within a few years of the founding of the city in 1608. Old Québec is the only walled city in North America. Even today, most of the original fortifications are still in place.

Figure 11-11 **Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park**

The historic Prince of Wales Hotel is a landmark in Waterton Lakes National Park. In 1931, the park was united with Glacier National Park in Montana to form the world's first international peace park. This park became a world heritage site in 1995 and was renamed Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park.

Figure 11-12 **Old Town of Lunenburg**

Founded in 1753, the Old Town of Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, has managed to keep its original layout and appearance. The town is based on a grid pattern designed in Britain. The people of Lunenburg have been able to protect the old town over the centuries by preserving the wooden architecture of the buildings. Lunenburg is the best surviving example of a planned British colonial settlement in North America.

Threats to the Common Human Heritage

UNESCO must work hard to safeguard the common human heritage. But sovereign nation-states control what goes on within their borders. They may dam rivers and flood heritage sites. They may build roads and housing developments over archaeological sites. Sometimes, they may choose to ignore or even destroy their cultural or natural heritage.

In 2001, for example, the Taliban government still controlled Afghanistan. Taliban rulers destroyed two ancient statues of the Buddha, a revered religious leader. These statues were the largest standing Buddhas in the world. The Taliban believed that destroying these statues was in their national interest because the statues insulted their religion.

Balancing the need to preserve the common human heritage against the national interest of a particular country is a challenge that UNESCO continues to struggle with.

Did Taliban leaders have the right to destroy the Buddha statues?

Figure 11-13 This 2000-year-old statue of the Buddha was 53 metres tall. It was located in Bamiyan, Afghanistan. In 2001, despite worldwide protest, the Taliban government destroyed it. The area became a world heritage site in 2003, and the current Afghan government is working to rebuild this monumental statue.

Recall . . . Reflect . . . Respond

1. The following are two ways that the United Nations promotes internationalism. Provide an example of each.
   - protecting the common heritage of all peoples
   - protecting people against global threats
2. For each example you chose in response to Question 1, suggest how this form of internationalism may challenge nationalism. Does it, for example, require people to give up some of their nationalist traditions? Must people give up some sovereign powers?
3. Does the UN carry internationalism too far or not far enough? Explain your answer.

How have various international organizations affected nationalism?

Many of the forces that shape globalization — trade, safer and faster transportation, and improved communication — also shape the growth of internationalism. Each of these forces increases contact among countries at both governmental and non-governmental levels.

But some people believe that this increased contact is a double-edged sword. It may encourage internationalism and co-operation among countries. It may also erode the sovereign power of nation-states.

Economic Organizations

An old saying suggests that a rising tide lifts all boats. In economic terms, this has come to mean that when trade everywhere increases, everyone benefits — big businesses, small businesses, and individuals. This idea has strongly influenced many recent international trade agreements.

People who support these agreements believe that when the economies of developed countries become stronger and richer, a **trickle-down effect** is created. Those who believe in the trickle-down effect say that when people in developed countries have more money, they will spend it on goods and services produced in less developed countries. So everyone will benefit — eventually.

Believers in the trickle-down effect say that economic benefits always flow from the top to the bottom of the economic ladder. Many international economic organizations, such as the World Trade Organization and the European Union promote this idea.

Examine the photograph in Figure 11-15. With a partner, brainstorm to create a list of Canadian jobs that will be created when Vancouver's container terminals expand. Then create a list of jobs that might be created elsewhere when this happens. Compare your lists with those of another pair. Then use your brainstormed lists to sketch a cause-and-effect diagram that shows the trickle-down effect.

Figure 11-14 The Trickle-Down Effect

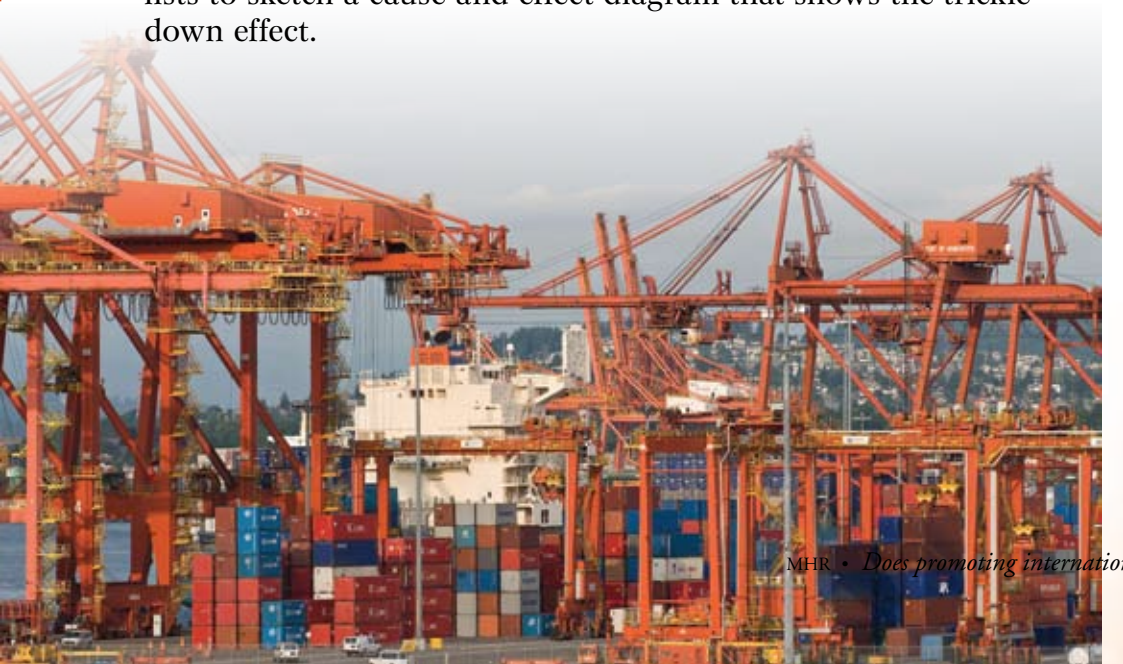


Figure 11-15 Studies have predicted that container traffic on the West Coast of North America will triple by about 2027. As a result, Vancouver has planned to upgrade and expand its container terminals, which are shown in this photograph.

<<< CheckBack

You read about the World Trade Organization in Chapter 9.

Why would a country agree to join the WTO when the rules of the WTO could have a negative effect on that country's ability to make its own decisions?

The World Trade Organization

The World Trade Organization is largely responsible for setting out and enforcing rules for trade around the world. In 2008, the WTO had 150 members. Pascal Lamy, director-general of the WTO, said, "Reducing trade barriers, has been, is, and will remain, essential to promote growth and development, to improve standards of living and to tackle poverty reduction."

Some people disagree with Lamy. They believe that the WTO threatens the ability of countries to pursue their national interest. Members join voluntarily, but the WTO can enforce its rules through economic sanctions. This gives it enormous power — and it can use this power to override decisions made by national governments.

Maude Barlow, national chair of the Council of Canadians, is a critic of the WTO. Barlow believes that multinational corporations are using the WTO to grab power and make more money.

"What makes the WTO so powerful is that it has both the . . . authority to challenge laws, policies and programs of countries that do not conform to WTO rules and [to] strike them down if they are seen to be too 'trade restrictive,'" Barlow has said. "Cases are decided — in secret — by a panel of three trade bureaucrats. Once a WTO ruling is made, worldwide conformity is required. A country is obligated to [change] its laws or face the prospect of [endless] trade sanctions or fines."

➲ Compare the words of Pascal Lamy and Maude Barlow. Would either — or both — of them agree that the WTO can affect nationalism? What key words reveal their views? Which view do you support? Explain your position.

Figure 11-16 In 2006, protesters in the Philippines dressed as chefs to protest WTO rules that allow governments to subsidize farmers. This drives down world prices for produce such as rice and makes it hard for small farmers in developing countries to make a living. These farmers cannot compete with the cheap prices of imported food. They want agriculture left out of WTO negotiations. What do you think these protesters are saying? Do you agree or disagree with their position?

THE VIEW FROM HERE

The World Trade Organization is controversial. Some people believe that it creates a level playing field for international trade. Others believe that it weakens the powers of national governments and places too much power in the hands of WTO officials.

The Government of Canada supports the WTO. It believes that the WTO can strengthen Canada's economic security. The following explanation of the WTO appeared on the federal government's web site in March 2008.

> Trade is at the heart of Canada's economy. Our prosperity depends on open world markets, a stable and transparent trading environment, and a means to settle trade disputes based on rules rather than political or economic power. Canada's membership in the WTO helps us achieve these objectives. A rules-based trading system is fairer, especially for smaller countries, and limits unilateral actions of larger countries.
>
> Seen from this perspective, trade agreements help countries like Canada, a smaller country whose economy is trade-dependent, maintain and even extend political sovereignty and our social values.

Aileen Kwa, an expert in international trade, was formerly with Focus on the Global South, an international NGO. Kwa compared world trade with a soccer game.

> In this soccer game . . . there are three teams, not two . . . One team of players are 20 years of age. The other team, 10 years of age, and the last team 5 years of age.
>
> The rules of the game are mostly determined by the oldest and most experienced team — the 20-year-olds. And often . . . [they] come up with more and more new rules [that] all the teams must abide by . . .
>
> The younger teams are given . . . a few more turns at having the ball. [But] . . . the older team scores most of the goals . . . Often the oldest team also plays a dirty game — team members push and shove the younger players . . . Occasionally, the younger team points this out to the referee and the younger team is compensated, but this is rare. More often, the bullying continues, but the younger teams are threatened to keep silent; otherwise, they would be beaten up in the changing room.

EXPLORATIONS

1. Aileen Kwa uses a soccer game to show her views on the World Trade Organization. The players are countries and the game is world trade. Jot down the key points in Kwa's description of the game, but every time she uses the word "player," substitute "country." What is the main point of Kwa's analogy?
2. Create a T-chart like the one shown to compare the two views of the WTO. The following questions can help guide your comparison:
   - Does the WTO help a country improve its economic security?
   - Do countries gain or lose control over their national affairs?
   - Is joining the WTO a good or bad idea for developing countries?

Views on the World Trade Organization	
Government of Canada	Aileen Kwa

Web Connection

To find out more about the countries that belong to the European Union, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.UnderstandingNationalism.ca

FYI

The EU by the Numbers

Member states: 27

Estimated population (2008): 492 000 000

Official languages: 23

Europe Day: May 9 (the day the union was first proposed)

Cities where the European Parliament meets: 2 (Brussels, Belgium, and Strasbourg, France)

Figure 11-17 Countries in the European Union, 2008

The European Union

Some international organizations are formed to serve the interests of countries within a particular region. Some, such as the Arctic Council, provide a way to solve mutual problems and bring them to the attention of the rest of the world. Others, such as the European Union, are supranational governments with a great deal of power.

After years of negotiating, the European Union became an official supranational organization in 1993. Among other things, the EU's purpose is to promote peace, security, and justice.

It has also worked to create one of the largest free-trade zones in the world. This means that the economies of the EU members have been integrated, and that there are few or no trade barriers between them. People and goods are free to travel across borders with nearly no restrictions.

The increased internal trade strengthens the economies of all member nations. By working together, countries in the EU also gained the economic power to play a more influential role in world trade.

Before the EU was created, every European country had its own currency: the French franc, the German mark, the English pound, the Greek drachma, and so on. So to make trade easier, most — but not all — members of the EU have adopted the euro as their common monetary unit.

Most European Union members have agreed to measures that open their national borders to trade and migration. But many disagree on whether they should adopt a common constitution. The proposed EU constitution says, for example, that once members have signed an EU agreement, they cannot pass national laws that violate this agreement.

Laws are supposed to reflect the beliefs and values of a society. What do you think would happen if politicians proposed a North American constitution that reflected the values and beliefs of all the countries on this continent?

Accepting the Euro	
Yes	**No**
Felipe González Márquez is a former prime minister of Spain. He believes that giving up national currencies was the "greatest abandonment of sovereignty." But he supports this move because he believes that it will help Europeans to think of themselves as members of a single community.	Britain and Denmark are both EU members. But they have so far resisted adopting the euro. One important reason for this is their citizens' belief that accepting the euro will lead to a loss of national identity and sovereignty.

Cultural and Language-Based Organizations

Many groups whose members share a common bond, such as language or culture, have formed organizations that reach well beyond national borders. Indigenous peoples and Francophones are two examples of groups that are working together internationally to affirm and promote their identities.

International Indigenous Peoples' Organizations

In 1973, representatives of the Indigenous peoples of the Arctic met in Copenhagen, Denmark. At the Arctic Peoples Conference, they decided to co-operate to further their mutual interests. The conference inspired the founding of groups such as the World Council of Indigenous Peoples and the Inuit Circumpolar Conference.

Spearheaded by George Manuel, a Shuswap from British Columbia, the World Council of Indigenous Peoples was one of the first international groups to focus on the rights of Indigenous peoples. Although the WCIP was disbanded in 1996, it played an important role in developing the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

The Inuit Circumpolar Conference represents about 160 000 Inuit who live in the Arctic regions of Canada, Alaska, Greenland, and Russia. The council's General Assembly meets every four years. Its goals include promoting the interests and rights of the Inuit — as a single people in the Arctic region — as well as strengthening the cultural bonds that unite them.

The Arctic Council

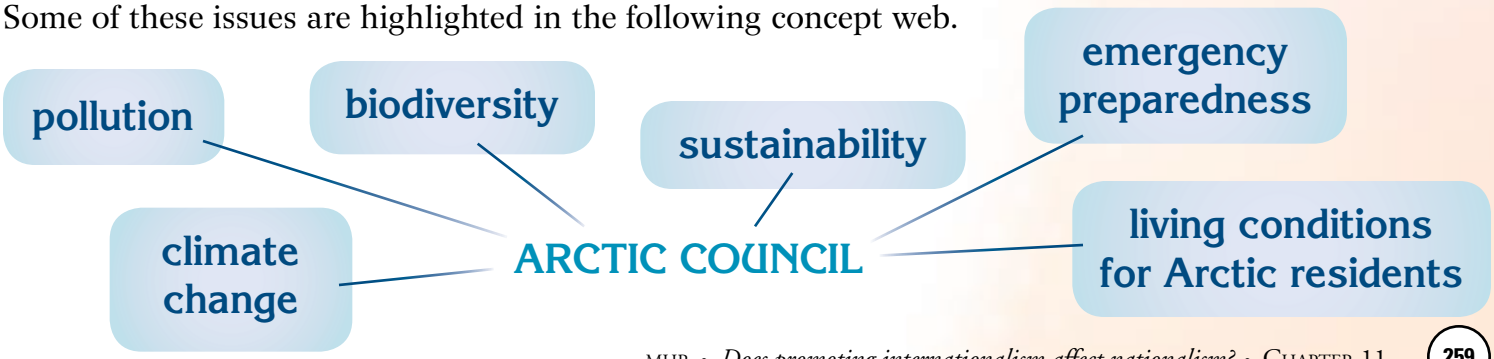
The Arctic is a massive region covering one-sixth of Earth's surface. In 1991, representatives of the world's eight Arctic countries — Canada, Denmark, Iceland, Finland, Norway, Sweden, the United States, and Russia — met to discuss ways to protect the fragile Arctic environment. The meeting also involved representatives of the Indigenous peoples who live in the Arctic.

Five years later, the Arctic Council was formed. Mary Simon, an Inuk from Nunavik, was appointed Canada's first ambassador for circumpolar affairs. Simon led the movement to create the Arctic Council. The first council meeting was held in Ottawa in 1996. It broke new ground by giving official status to both Arctic Indigenous groups and nation-state governments. Together, they work to resolve issues of particular importance to Arctic nations. Some of these issues are highlighted in the following concept web.

Figure 11-18 Inuit seal hunter Dines Mikaelsen strokes a dead seal on a melting iceberg near Greenland. Older Inuit remember spending up to 10 months a year on the land and sea ice. But global climate change has reduced the time hunters can safely do this. After being out on the ice, some hunters now have trouble finding a safe route back to land. How might an international Arctic organization be more effective than a national government at telling people about problems?

Would the UN's efforts to promote peace be more — or less — successful if it involved more groups like the Arctic Council, which does not promote any country's national interests? Or would this just complicate matters?

Figure 11-19 Issues for the Arctic Council



It is not a matter of supporting education for education's sake, culture for culture's sake, or encouraging people to learn to speak French because it is politically correct. Today, we . . . must give the women and men of la Francophonie the means to take control of their development.

— Heads of state and government at the closing of the Francophonie Summit in Cotonou, Bénin, 1995

La Francophonie

La Francophonie — l'Organization internationale de la Francophonie — is a cultural and linguistic community of nations. It began in 1970 as an international organization of countries in which French is an official language. Although only governments can be members of la Francophonie, not all these governments are national. Canada, for example, is a member, and so are the provinces of Québec and New Brunswick.

Through la Francophonie, governments co-ordinate efforts to promote democracy, support education, encourage sustainable development, and promote the use of the French language. More recently, the organization has reached out beyond language to include governments that share the vision of international co-operation and support for human rights.

La Francophonie's resolutions, do not have the force of law. Still, its resolutions can influence governments to act.

MAKING A DIFFERENCE

Mary Simon
A Life Devoted to Canada's North

Figure 11-20 Mary Simon has published a book titled *Inuit: One Arctic — One Future* and has received many awards including the Order of Canada, the National Order of Québec, the Gold Order of Greenland, and a National Aboriginal Achievement Award.

Mary Simon cut her political teeth in the 1970s by joining the Northern Québec Inuit Association to fight the huge James Bay power generating project. Since then, Simon has continued to promote the cause of the peoples of the Arctic.

Simon is the daughter of a Hudson's Bay Company manager and an Inuk. She was born in Kangiqsualijjuaq, a small community on Ungava Bay in the Nunavik region of northern Québec. She spent her childhood immersed in traditional Inuit culture. She believes this early experience helped create her strong relationship to the land.

At the same time, her father made sure that she learned English. "This fluency in English was one of the springboards to my 'career' in the political development of Nunavik," she has said.

Simon's activism also led to her involvement in the Inuit Circumpolar Conference, an international organization meant to further the interests of all Inuit people. Then, in 1994, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien appointed Simon Canada's first ambassador for circumpolar affairs. She helped create the Arctic Council and became its first chair.

Simon is now president of the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami, an organization that represents about 53 000 Inuit who live in Canada's North.

Simon has seen great changes in people's attitudes toward the Arctic. "As recently as 25 years ago, the Arctic regions were hardly on the political environmental agenda," she told a Dartmouth audience. But this is no longer true. "Now hardly a day goes by without a news story on the Arctic," she said.

EXPLORATIONS

1. Mary Simon has spent her life defending the interests of the Inuit. Would you say she is a nationalist or an internationalist? Explain your answer.
2. Would membership in international organizations similar to the Arctic Council strengthen or weaken the feelings of national identity held by Inuit in Canada? Explain your response.

International Security Organizations

Countries have always formed alliances to try to ensure their security. After World War II, for example, the countries of Western Europe and North America feared the powerful military might of the Soviet Union. To protect themselves, they formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization — NATO — in 1949. Canada was a founding member. Although the Soviet Union was both hostile and powerful, it never attacked a NATO member.

NATO countries agreed that an attack on one member would be viewed as an attack on all members. When the United States was attacked in 2001, for example, Canada and other NATO members decided to help the United States defeat al-Qaeda, which was centred in Afghanistan. As of 2008, NATO troops were still in Afghanistan, trying to bring stability to the country in a peacemaking mission.

NATO is an internationalist alliance because member countries work and make decisions collectively. Do you think NATO membership reduces a country's sovereignty? Why or why not?

Web Connection

To find out more about NATO, go to this web site and follow the links.

www.UnderstandingNationalism.ca

Taking Turns

How much sovereignty should Canada give up for the sake of internationalism?

The students responding to this question are Rick, who was born in the United States but moved to Fort McMurray with his family when he was 10; Jean, a Francophone student who lives in Calgary; and Pearl, who lives in St. Albert and whose great-great-great grandfather immigrated from China to work on the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Rick

Working with other countries is a good idea, but Canada should be careful about giving up the right to resolve issues in its own way. The Kyoto Protocol is an example. My dad works in the oil patch, and he says it would be disastrous for the Canadian economy if Canada accepted the Kyoto targets. I think he's right.

It depends. I think it's best to look at things case by case. Lots of Francophone Canadians are glad that Canada belongs to la Francophonie — especially as we're a minority here in Alberta. But that doesn't mean la Francophonie should be able to tell Canada how to affirm or promote Francophone culture. Those are decisions we can make for ourselves.

Jean

Pearl

We should definitely move to an internationalist approach because, like it or not, Canada is part of the big, wide world. People solve problems best by working together. Like brainstorming in class — the more ideas people throw into the pot, the more likely we are to come up with solutions that suit everyone. Pursuing internationalism is kind of like that. It's the only way the world's going to work.

Your Turn

How would you respond to the question Rick, Jean, and Pearl are answering? Explain the reasons for your response.

THINK...PARTICIPATE...RESEARCH...COMMUNICATE...

1. James Warburg was a financial adviser to U.S. president Franklin Roosevelt. In his 1959 book, *The West in Crisis*, Warburg described a major transition that he believed must take place.

> A world which fails to establish the rule of law over the nation-states cannot long continue to exist. We are living in a perilous period of transition from the era of the fully sovereign nation-state to the era of world government.

   a) Do you agree with James Warburg's view that sovereign nation-states must submit to a world government? Write a paragraph or two to explain your position. Cite supporting examples from *Understanding Nationalism*.

   c) Explain your position to a partner.

2. Create a poster, political cartoon, or some other visual to show how one form of internationalism challenges nationalism. You may choose any topic related to internationalism. You might, for example, choose the UN's responsibility to protect, expanding communication technologies, or the internationalization of activism.

   Through this visual, you will be responding to the chapter-issue question: Does promoting internationalism affect nationalism? Display your work on a bulletin board or in some other area of the classroom. Be prepared to explain and defend the position presented in your visual.

3. The poster shown in Figure 11-21 is a copy of the cover of a late 19th-century German socialist pamphlet. It promotes the internationalism of workers. The woman at the top represents Freedom (*Freiheit*). She is shown extending a welcome to all the workers of the world. The words on the banner say, "Workers of the world unite." Each worker depicted on the poster represents a continent.

   Through this poster, the artist implies that all workers have common interests and could help one another by promoting those rights on an international scale. If you were to revise this poster to send a message about internationalism to people today, what theme would you choose? What images would you select? How would you present them?

Figure 11-21

Skill Builder to Your Challenge

Create Two Diary Entries

The challenge for Related Issue 3 asks you to create a time capsule that will be opened in 100 years. Your time capsule will include items that explore and present an informed position on the question for this related issue: Should internationalism be pursued?

In this activity, you will create two diary entries that show two different views on an international issue that challenges nationalism. As you do this, you will hone your skill at analyzing current affairs from various perspectives and develop your critical and creative thinking skills.

Step 1: Develop criteria

Identify several criteria to help you choose an international issue. For tips on developing criteria, see page 6 of the prologue.

Step 2: Select one example of internationalism

Review this chapter to choose one form of internationalism that you believe challenges nationalism. Test it against your criteria. The following are some possibilities:

- UNESCO's effort to protect the common human heritage (pp. 251–254)
- The EU's adoption of the euro (p. 258)

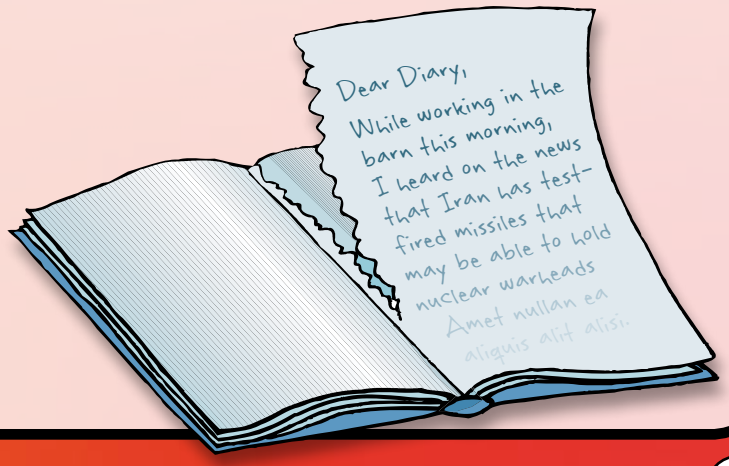
Step 3: Identify two points of view or perspectives

Identify two points of view or perspectives associated with your example.

If, for example, you chose the UN's attempt to stop Iran's development of nuclear technology, one point of view might be that of Israelis who feel threatened by the possibility that Iran could drop an atomic bomb on their country. Another view might be that of an Iranian nationalist.

Step 4: Conduct research into each point of view or perspective

Conduct research to find out more about the two groups you wish to represent and about their opinions on whether internationalism poses challenges to nationalism.

Step 5: Write your diary entries

Write or record your two diary entries. Your entries will be like historical fiction. You will make them up, but they should still be historically accurate. This means, for example, that you could make up a description of an individual's morning routine, but you should not change the date of a major event. Be sure that your depictions of the groups you are representing are accurate, according to your research.